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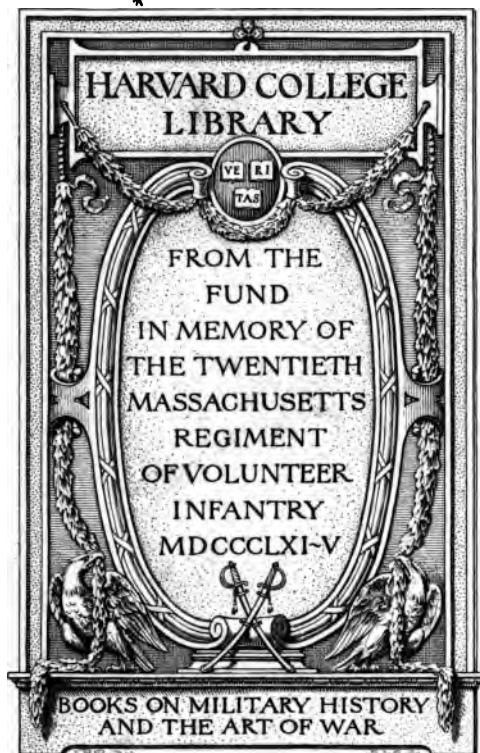
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A BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
JOHN BROWN

BY
DR. THOMAS FEATHERSTONHAUGH

[From Publications of the Southern History Association, July, 1897]

BALTIMORE, MD.
THE FRIEDENWALD COMPANY
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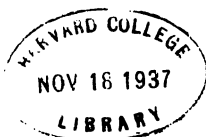
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Twentieth Regiment fund

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BY DR. THOMAS FEATHERSTONHAUGH.¹

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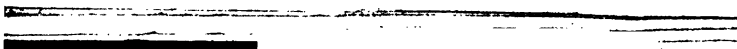
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JOHN BROWN'S MEN

THE LIVES OF THOSE KILLED
AT HARPER'S FERRY
WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
JOHN BROWN

By.....

Thomas Featherstonhaugh



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[From Publications of Southern History Association,
October, 1899.]

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Twentieth Regiment Fund



JOHN BROWN'S MEN: THE LIVES OF THOSE KILLED AT HARPER'S FERRY.


WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN.

BY THOMAS FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

For many years prior to 1859 human passions had been stirred to their very depths over the subject of slavery. The whole country had been divided into two classes over this pressing question, and these people remained apart until their differences were washed out in the blood of the Civil War. Staid legislators within the precincts of the capitol not only hurled unseemly epithets at each other, but sometimes more material missiles. In the midst of these distractions John Brown precipitated himself into the conflict by his raid at Harper's Ferry, October 16, 1859. This was like putting a match to the train when all is ready for the explosion.

John Brown had been a *known* factor in the slavery question since 1855, when he went to Kansas in order to help along the free-state cause. He had, however, been a comparatively unknown worker in the abolition camp for thirty years, and the raid was the practical culmination of nearly a life's work. This is not the place to give a general account of the raid, since I mean to speak mainly of the members of John Brown's party who were killed in and about Harper's Ferry. For a proper understanding of the subject, however, I deem it desirable to give a short resumé of Brown's operations in Virginia.

On July 1, 1859, four strangers appeared at Sandy Hook, a little hamlet on the banks of the Potomac, some two miles below Harper's Ferry. Here they engaged rooms and board at the house of one Ormond Butler. One of these men was tall and slender, with stooping shoulders, brisk walk and in-



quisitive eye. His iron-gray hair and flowing white beard gave him a venerable appearance, while his general demeanor invited respect. He introduced himself as Isaac Smith and two of the party as his sons, Owen and Watson, while the fourth was presented as Jeremiah G. Anderson. Their business was announced as prospectors for gold in the surrounding mountains, and again as intending settlers and purchasers of live stock. It had long been known that the quartz rock about Harper's Ferry contained a small quantity of gold and so the advent of strangers in quest of this metal excited no special comment. Several of the older residents of Harper's Ferry have told the writer that Isaac Smith had often been in their places of business with fragments of quartz in his hands in which he claimed to have found gold. These men were John Brown, his two sons, Owen and Watson, and his trusted lieutenant, Jeremiah G. Anderson. Search was at once begun in a quiet way for an eligible place for headquarters and the Kennedy farm was finally chosen on account of its sequestered position. This place is some five miles from Harper's Ferry in the hills of Washington County, Maryland, and was at the time unoccupied. There were two log tenements upon the farm and some out-buildings. The main dwelling is still standing, and at that time it contained only two rooms with a small kitchen wing and an attic or loft. Beneath the house is a half basement room, the rear portion being under ground, while the loft was, and still is, unfinished. The other building was across the highway nearly an eighth of a mile from the main structure, and was utilized as a depot for the storage of a portion of the arms as well as a home for some of the men. This smaller building has now disappeared. One of the colored men of the party who escaped the Charlestown gallows afterwards wrote a little pamphlet on the subject of the raid and his description of the farmhouse is not uninteresting. He says:

"To a passer-by the house and its surroundings presented but indifferent attractions. Any log tenement of equal dimensions

would be as likely to arrest a stray glance. Rough, unsightly and aged, it was only those privileged to enter and tarry for a long time, and to penetrate the mysteries of the two rooms it contained, kitchen, parlor and dining-room below, and the spacious chamber, attic, store-room, comprised in the loft above, who could tell how we lived at Kennedy farm. Every morning when the noble old man was at home, he called the family around, read from his Bible, and offered to God most fervent and touching supplications for all flesh, and especially pathetic were his petitions in behalf of the oppressed. I never heard John Brown pray that he did not make strong appeals to God for the deliverance of the slave. This duty over, the men went to the loft, there to remain all the day long. Few only could be seen about, as the neighbors were watchful and suspicious. It was also important to talk but little among ourselves, as visitors to the house might be curious. Besides the daughter and daughter-in-law, who superintended the work, some one or other of the men was regularly detailed to assist in the cooking, washing and other domestic work. After the ladies left, we did all the work, no one being exempt because of age or official grade in the organization. During the several weeks I remained at the encampment, we were under the restraint I write of through the day, but at night we sallied out for a ramble or to breathe the fresh air and enjoy the beautiful solitude of the mountain scenery around by moonlight. On Sunday morning, October 16th, Captain Brown arose earlier than usual, and called his men down to worship. He read a chapter from the Bible applicable to the condition of the slaves, and our duty as their brethren, and then offered up a fervent prayer to God to assist in the liberation of the bondmen in that slave-holding land. The services were impressive beyond expression. Every man there assembled seemed to respond from the depths of his soul, and throughout the entire day a deep solemnity pervaded the place. The old man's usually weighty words were invested with more than ordinary importance, and the countenance of every man reflected the momentous thought that absorbed his attention within."¹

While the house has been modernized by the addition of a brick front, a porch and an extension to one end, the original log house remains as it was inside of these improvements. The bricks of the front have simply been spiked to the logs, and in the rear the old structure is intact. The original windows, with doubtless the identical panes of glass in the sashes through which anxious eyes often peered to descry the approach of an enemy or to welcome a friend, remain as they were. The loft or attic spoken of by Anderson, consists of one quite sizeable room with a single small

¹*A Voice From Harper's Ferry*, by Osborne P. Anderson, Boston, 1861, 8vo, pp. 72. Printed for the author.

window in the gable end, and the two ladies mentioned were Martha, the wife of Oliver Brown, and Annie, the young daughter of the leader. Annie Brown is now the only survivor of the entire party and the author is greatly indebted to her, as the numerous quotations from her interesting letters concerning the trying days preceding the raid will testify.

It was to this isolated place that the twenty-one men forming Brown's band gradually assembled. They mostly came one by one by way of Chambersburg, Pa., and thence were transported under cover of night by the agency of Brown's own little covered wagon.

"About the middle of July," writes Mrs. Annie Brown Adams in a recent letter, "Oliver came on to North Elba after Martha and myself. We went down the Hudson river by boat from Troy to New York and thence by rail to Harper's Ferry, where father met us with his horse and conveyed us to the farm." These two young women remained at the farm until September 29, when Oliver conducted them as far as Troy on their homeward journey.

John Brown soon after his arrival at the ferry bought a horse that turned out to be blind, a small wagon, a cow, a mule and some pigs. These, with a mongrel dog, presented to the Captain by a neighbor's boy in return for having operated on a tumor in his mother's neck, constituted the live stock of the place. A large quantity of coarse unbleached sheeting was purchased and from this the two girls made mattresses, by making bags and stuffing them with hay. A cover was also made from the same material for the little wagon in order that the passengers from Chambersburg, who were often negroes, might not be exposed to observation. These mattresses were spread upon the floor of the attic and on them the men slept without either sheets or pillows. The nearest neighbor was a Mrs. Huffmaster, who was accustomed to run in and out unannounced in true country style. She was a veritable thorn in the side of the band and had several times surprised some of the "In-

visible members of the family," as they called them, by coming upon them before they could escape to the attic. She had even seen one of the negroes, Shields Green. After these alarming discoveries it was thought best to divide the force for better defence if attacked, and so Owen and Watson Brown, the two Thompsons and Jeremiah G. Anderson moved to the little house across the road. Here the pikes were kept in boxes, but the other arms were stored in the dwelling house in boxes, which were also used as furniture, and these were the only furniture they had, except some rude benches and tables that Owen had made. The household utensils were of tin and not very numerous. The food was plentiful but plain and was purchased at different places along the road to Chambersburg to avoid exciting suspicion, though frequent small purchases were made by the "visible members" at Harper's Ferry.

The date for the raid was set for some ten days later than it actually occurred, but was made upon October 16, on account of suspicions that began to arise among the gossiping neighbors as to the presence of so many people in the little log houses without any visible purpose, for the tale of gold seeking was worn out after more than three months of constant usage. Says Mrs. Adams: "We were in constant fear that people would become suspicious enough to attempt an investigation and try to arrest the men, and we were all so self-conscious that we feared danger when no man pursued or even thought of it."

I may here remark that almost all of the little details of the life at the farm and much of the personal matter concerning the men are from the pen of Mrs. Adams in letters to me and have not been published before. In putting the material together it is impracticable to give credit for each statement, and I here make the general acknowledgement.

Some dissension had arisen among the men when the plan of attacking Harper's Ferry was fully disclosed. Feeling ran so high over this discussion that John Brown offered his resignation as captain, and Tidd left the farm and went

to stay with Cook in the village, where he remained for several days. The strong personality of John Brown, however, dominated everything, the resignation was not accepted and Tidd returned to the fold.

At 8 p. m., October 16, 1859, the roll was called for the last time and John Brown issued the order to his unquestioning band, "Men, get on your arms; we will proceed to the Ferry." Three of the men, Owen Brown, Barclay Coppoc and F. J. Merriam, were to remain behind to protect the arms and house. O. P. Anderson, who has been mentioned as one who escaped, told Mrs. Adams in 1860 that the march from the farm on that fateful night seemed like a funeral. All shook hands with the three who were left behind, bidding them good bye for what they believed to be the last time. The two Coppoc brothers embraced and kissed each other their last farewell, and they never met again. It was a dark, chilly, rainy night when the eighteen devoted followers, preceded by their leader in the wagon, defiled down the lane from the farm which led to the highway, and turned their faces towards Harper's Ferry. The road on which they marched was steep and rocky and much of it was in the dense forest. Progress was necessarily slow, and it was therefore close upon midnight when the bridge crossing the Potomac was reached. No one had been met on the road to give an alarm, and the telegraph wires had been cut by Tidd and Cook.

The incidents of the encounter between the Virginia militia, the citizens of the surrounding country, a company of United States Marines on the one side and these nineteen men on the other, have been the theme of song and story ever since, and, while they are full of interest, they must be passed over here.

The following ten men of the party were killed in the skirmishing in and about Harper's Ferry: Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, J. H. Kagi, Jeremiah G. Anderson, Stewart Taylor, William Thompson, Dauphin O. Thompson, W. H.

Leeman, Dangerfield Newby and Lewis Sheridan Leary. Newby and Leary were colored men.

Watson Brown was born on October 7, 1835. He was the only one of the Captain's sons who did not serve in the Kansas war. He married Isabella M. Thompson and at his death left one young child who did not live long. His widow is still living and has re-married. The Thompsons were neighbors of the Brown family in the Adirondacks, and John Brown's oldest daughter married Henry Thompson, a brother of Isabella and the two young men of this name who were killed at the Ferry. Watson, accompanied by the two Thompsons, arrived at the Kennedy farm early in August. They came by rail to Harper's Ferry and walked up to the farm, asking the way from people whom they met. Mr. Patrick Higgins, who was at that time a watchman on the bridge, and is still in the employ of the railroad company, tells me that he well remembers the arrival of Watson and that he asked of him the shortest way to the "Smith place." Watson was over six feet in height and a finely developed young man. In a letter written by Edwin Coppoc, one of the men who was captured unhurt and afterwards hung at Charleston, he says of Watson:

"Watson Brown was wounded about 10 o'clock on Monday at the same time Stevens was, while passing along the street with a flag of truce, but was not so badly wounded, but he got back to the engine house. During the fight in the afternoon he fought as brave as ever any man fought, but as soon as the fight was over he got worse. When we were taken in the morning he was just able to walk. He and Green and myself were put in the watch-house. Watson kept getting worse from then until about 3 o'clock Wednesday morning when he died. I did everything in my power to make him comfortable. He begged hard for a bed, but could not get one, so I pulled off my coat and put it under him and placed his head in my lap, and in that position he died."

Oliver Brown was born March 9, 1839. He was also a finely-developed young man and was esteemed by his mother as the most promising of her children. He had married a daughter of one of the Adirondack neighbors, by name Martha Evelyn Brewster, who survived him only a few months. He had accompanied his father to Harper's

Ferry, where he remained with the exception of the two short trips already mentioned. He had served in the Kansas war, notwithstanding his extreme youth. Says Coppoc in the letter already quoted :

"Oliver Brown fell by the engine house. He died in about fifteen minutes after he was shot. He said nothing."

John Henri Kagi was born in Bristol, Ohio, March 15, 1835. He was a descendant of John R. Kagy, who came to this country from Switzerland in 1715 in order to enjoy religious freedom. One of his sons, Henry, went to Virginia in 1768 and settled in the county of Shenandoah. This man was the great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch. His mother was a Virginian, Ann Fansler by name. He received such education as was possible in his native town of Bristol, and afterwards obtained better educational advantages in Virginia. He was a large, handsome man and was intellectually very bright. He taught school both in Ohio and Virginia, and gave much attention to the study of the law, which he had determined upon as his profession. He also became proficient in the practice of phonography and traveled about considerably as a reporter for meetings, court proceedings, etc. He became very strongly anti-slavery in his feelings, and had publicly identified himself with the anti-slavery party in Southern Ohio. He finally wandered to Topeka, Kan., where he was outspoken in his war upon slavery, and busied himself in writing to the eastern papers on this subject. He wrote for *The National Era*,² of Washington, D. C., *The Evening Post*, of New York, and was also an occasional correspondent for some Kansas and other papers. I possess an original letter of Kagi's written to his sister and dated at Lawrence, Kan., 1858. It is in a strong, bold hand and is prepared in a scholarly manner. Kagi was

² This paper was established and edited by Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. In 1858 Hon. Daniel R. Goodloe, a native of North Carolina, became its editor and continued at its head until it died from competition in 1860. See sketch of Mr. Goodloe in these *Publications* for April, 1898.

of course early at Harper's Ferry, but one day a man asked Oliver Brown, "Is not that John Kagi?" Oliver in order to screen him was compelled to deny all knowledge of him, but hastened to secure an opportunity of privately warning Kagi that he was known, and from this time forth Kagi remained at Chambersburg, where he busied himself in receiving the men as they came on to join the band, and also forwarded the arms to Harper's Ferry. Once only before the raid he returned to the Kennedy farm by night and kept himself concealed there for twenty-four hours. To Kagi was entrusted the mission of capturing the Hall Rifle Works. With him were John Copeland and Lewis S. Leary of the party and three colored men from the neighborhood. They were soon dislodged from their position by the militia and attempted to retreat across the Shenandoah river. In this attempt Kagi and Leary were shot and Copeland captured unhurt. Twice during the raid Kagi had exchanged messages with John Brown by the agency of Jeremiah Anderson, and had besought the Captain to follow his original plan and retreat to the mountains before it was too late.

Jeremiah G. Anderson was born in Indiana, Putnam county, Wis., on April 13, 1833. His ancestors, with the exception of his father, were Virginians and had been slaveholders in their day. He had received a more than fair education, having gone through the common schools and attended the high school at Kossuth, Iowa, the family having removed to Iowa after the death of Anderson's father. He is described by his former teacher in the high school as morose and eccentric, though quiet and studious. It was intended that Jeremiah should become a minister, but he rejected this plan and became a free thinker, with spiritualistic tendencies. It is here worthy of remark that none of the band held the religious views of their leader. Influenced by a brother who had gone to Kansas, Jeremiah removed to this then Territory and in 1857 purchased a claim there. He became a strong free-state man, and, of course, soon met John Brown, whose most ardent supporter he rapidly

became. He accompanied Captain Brown on a trip east in March and April, 1859. He was with the Captain, also, when he first appeared at Harper's Ferry. On July 5, Anderson thus writes :

"I am stopping one mile from Harper's Ferry [Sandy Hook is meant, for the Kennedy farm had not yet been occupied] in Maryland on the Potomac. The railroad is on one side and the canal on the other. This is a mountainous country and the scenery is very beautiful. I am going to be on a farm about five miles from the Ferry engaged in agricultural pursuits."

Later he thus writes :

"At present I am bound by all that is honorable to continue in the same cause for which I left Kansas and all my relations. Millions of fellow-beings require it of us; their cries for help go out to the universe daily and hourly. Whose duty is it to help them? Is it yours, is it mine? It is every man's, but how few there are to help. But there are a few who dare to answer this call, and dare to answer it in a manner that will make this land of liberty and equality shake to the centre. If my life is sacrificed, it can't be lost in a better cause."

Anderson remained close by his Captain's side after they reached Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16 and retreated with him to the engine house when the militia had forced them from the open field. When the engine house was broken into by the marines, Anderson was bayoneted and was dragged out vomiting gore. He died very soon after the surrender.

Stewart Taylor was born in Uxbridge, Canada, October 29, 1836. He received only a common school education and then learned the trade of wagon-making. When 17 years of age he determined to emigrate to the States, and Kansas was his intended destination. An attack of sickness, however, overtook him while on his way and he afterwards obtained employment as a wagon-maker in West Liberty, Ia. In the spring of 1858 he met some members of the John Brown party, notably George B. Gill, who afterwards introduced him to John Brown. He attached himself to the party and participated in the Chatham convention, May 8-10, 1858. After the adjournment of the convention, Taylor remained in the West at his work until

July, 1859, when he received a letter from Kagi directing him to report himself at Harper's Ferry, which he promptly did. Taylor was a constant student, reading everything he could lay his hands upon.

Mrs. Adams writes:

"He was more what might be called a crank than any of the party. He was constantly the victim of jokes by the others, which he always took good naturedly. He was more or less interested in all the 'isms' of the day and in his religious views he was more of a spiritualist than anything else. He became strongly imbued with the idea that he would be one of the first killed in the coming encounter, but this fixed belief did not cause the slightest shrinking on his part."

He appears to have been an active participant in the fighting until he was shot. Coppoc says that:

"Taylor was shot by the engine house, and lived about three hours after receiving his wound. He suffered very much and begged of us to kill him."

William and Dauphin Osgood Thompson were the sons of Roswell Thompson, a neighbor of the Browns, in Essex county, N. Y. They were born respectively in 1833 and 1838. Watson Brown had married their sister, Isabella, and their brother, Henry, had married Ruth, the eldest daughter of John Brown. Mrs. Thompson thus writes me from her California home:

"Watson, William and Dauphin Thompson started for Virginia in the night time. It seemed that Watson realized that he was leaving his wife and his little three weeks' old boy forever, for after bidding us all good bye he rushed out of the house crying as though his heart would break. William Thompson was young, witty and a great mimic. Father never talked with him or Dauphin about going to Virginia, and did not know that they intended to join his company until they reached the Kennedy farm with Watson. When Watson told them he was going to join John Brown's company they needed no urging. They met at mother's and started away at night, as I have said. When William parted with his young wife she clung to him and said, Oh! William, don't go, I shall never see you again. He answered, Mary, what is my life compared to the millions of poor slaves. William was kind brave and generous, while Dauphin was a gentle and affectionate boy, brave and fearless and always ready to defend the weak at any time. He and William knew very little about slavery until John Brown went to N. Elba. There they heard him lecture one Sunday evening on this subject. He quoted passage after

passage from the Bible to show that slavery was wrong and it was our duty to 'Remember those in bonds as bound with them.' This talk roused much interest in the minds of those who heard him."

William Thompson and Oliver Brown were detailed to guard the Shenandoah bridge after their arrival at the Ferry. In the early morning Thompson re-crossed the Potomac bridge and assisted in bringing in Terence Byrne, a neighboring slave-holder, who was held as a prisoner all through the fight. At about 11 o'clock, says Anderson, Thompson was sent by the Captain over to the farm to tell those left behind that all was well and to continue the removal of the arms to a little school-house much nearer the scene of action. After completing this errand and while attempting to re-cross the Potomac bridge, he was taken prisoner and conveyed bound to the Wager House for safe keeping. Late in the day some of the citizens rushed into the hotel and dragged the prisoner to the entrance of the bridge where it was proposed to hang him. No suitable piece of rope, however, could be obtained and he was shot down. Patrick Higgins, whom I have before quoted, tells me that he saw Thompson, after he was shot, drag himself to the open work between the railroad ties and throw himself into the river. When in the water he managed to crawl to one of the piers to which he clung until he was observed, when he was again made a target by the maddened crowd until life was fully extinct.

Dauphin O. Thompson does not appear to have taken a very active part in the raid, and his work seems to have been largely that of guard for the prisoners that were taken and held in the engine house. He was killed by the United States Marines in their charge upon the engine house on the early morning of the 18th. Dauphin was unmarried.

William H. Leeman was a native of the State of Maine and was born March 20, 1839. He received only a very moderate education in the common school branches, and at the early age of 14 went to work in a shoe factory at Haver-

hill, Mass. He early became imbued with anti-slavery sentiments, and in the spring of 1856 started for Kansas, but not for purposes of war as I am led to believe from an original letter of his to his mother dated August 10, 1856, when he had just reached Kansas. In this long letter, which is in my possession, he speaks of but little except the taking up of land and gaining possession of town lots, and advises his mother and friends that if they have a dollar to spare to send it to him for investment in town lots that will be sure to rise in value. He says: "I have a town lot of two acres and one hundred and sixty acres besides. We are at work building houses for us to live in and breaking up land. We have eight yoke of cattle and three pair of horses to work with, and the North supports us." He found congenial spirits in the members of John Brown's party, and became one of them very soon. He was with the party at Springdale, Ia., and attended the Chatham, Canada, convention as a member. He, of course, joined the Harper's Ferry party as soon as the "boarding house," as they called the Kennedy farm-house, was ready to receive visitors, and was active in the raid. He was one of the party detailed to capture Terence Byrne. The details of his death are given by two eye-witnesses of the occurrence. Dr. J. D. Starry, of Harper's Ferry, testified that he saw Leeman shot in the Potomac river on Monday at about 1 o'clock. He was attempting to cross the Potomac river from the Virginia to the Maryland side. Mr. Joseph Barry says:³

"Another of the raiders attempted to escape from the upper end of the armory yard by swimming or wading the Potomac. He had been seen shortly before conducting one of the armory watchmen named Edward Murphy towards the engine house. He kept the latter between him and an armed party of citizens who were stationed on a hill near the armory works. More than a dozen guns were raised to shoot him by the excited crowd, and no doubt both he and Murphy would have been then killed had not Mr. Zadoc Butt induced the party not to fire in consideration of the danger to Murphy. Leeman immediately after disappeared for a while, but

³ *Annals of Harper's Ferry*, by Joseph Barry, Martinsburg, W. Va., 1872.

soon he was seen endeavoring to escape as above mentioned. A volley was fired after him and he must have been wounded, as he lay down and threw up his arms as if surrendering. A resident of Harper's Ferry waded into the river to a rock where Leeman lay, apparently badly wounded, and deliberately shot him through the head. His body lay for some time where it fell."

Dangerfield Newby was born a slave in Fauquier county, Va., in the year 1825. His father was a Scotchman, who took his family of mulatto children to Ohio and freed them. Gabriel Newby, of Bridgeport, Ohio, a brother of the subject of this sketch, writes me under date of March 26, 1899, that his brother, Dangerfield, was married to a slave and was the father of six children. His wife was owned by Jesse Jennings, of Warrenton, Va., and Dangerfield was desirous of buying her. Her master had promised to sell her and one child for \$1,000, but when Dangerfield had raised this amount of money the sale of his wife to him was refused. While a slave he worked at blacksmithing and ran on the canal between Waterloo and Fredericksburg. He was a quiet man, upright, quick-tempered and devoted to his family. He never talked much about slavery and kept his intention of joining John Brown, whom he had met in Oberlin, to himself. From Harper's Ferry he wrote a letter to his brother urging him to come on there and bring their brother, James, but he gave no reasons why he wished their presence. His wife and children were, later, sold to planters in Louisiana, and it is not known what became of them. Newby was killed in Shenandoah street, near the armory gate, and Anderson in his little book before cited gives the following account of his death:

"On the retreat of the troops we were ordered back to our former posts. While going, Dangerfield Newby, one of our colored men, was shot through the head by a person who took aim at him from a brick store window on the opposite side of the street, and who was there for the purpose of firing upon us. Newby was shot twice; at the first fire he fell on his side and returned it. As he lay, a second shot was fired and the ball entered his head. Green raised his rifle in an instant and brought down the cowardly murderer before the latter could get his gun back through the sash."

1. "A Slave from Harper's Ferry"

The Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, who witnessed the raid, thus describes the death of Newby in the *Century* of July, 1883:

"One of the armorers by the name of Bogert got an opportunity of a shot at him (Newby) from an upper window of Mrs. Stephenson's house at the corner of High and Shenandoah streets, and killed him on the spot. I saw his body while it was yet warm as it lay on the pavement in front of the arsenal yard, and I never saw, on any battlefield, a more hideous musket wound than his. For his throat was cut literally from ear to ear, which was afterwards accounted for by the fact that the armorer, having no bullets, charged his musket with a six-inch iron spike."

Lewis Sheridan Leary was born at Fayetteville, N. C., March 17, 1835, and received his name from a Mr. Sheridan, who had freed all his slaves for conscience sake. His mother was a native of France and removed to this country when six years of age. His great grandfather on his father's side was a revolutionary soldier and served under General Greene. None of his ancestors, as far as is known, were slaves. Lewis attended school at Fayetteville, where the free colored people had a school, for some nine years prior to going to Oberlin, O. The father was a saddler and harness maker and Lewis learned the trade. In 1857 he went to Oberlin to work at his trade and made the acquaintance of John Brown in Cleveland. Mrs. Evans, a sister of Leary and who lives in Washington, informs me that she was living in Oberlin at the time that her brother left to go to Harper's Ferry. She says that he never mentioned the matter to her in any way, and went off with his little bag of harness-making tools saying that he was going to look for work. When the news of the raid was published she saw her brother's name mentioned as one of the killed, which was the first intimation any of them had that Lewis was a soldier in the anti-slavery cause. He was not inclined to be studious, but was generally well behaved and industrious. A brother of Leary, Mr. J. S. Leary, of Charlotte, N. C., has kindly, in response to my request, given me many of the above details.

Leary, with others, was stationed at the Hall Rifle Works. When Kagi, who was in command there, gave the order to retreat, they all attempted to escape by crossing the Shenandoah river. The shores of the river were lined with militia and armed citizens and soon all except Copeland were killed. Leary was carried into a carpenter's shop on the "Island" after receiving his wounds, where he died after several hours of great agony.⁴

The bodies of three of the raiders, Watson Brown, Kagi and J. G. Anderson, were packed in barrels and shipped to the medical college at Winchester. It is not known what disposition was made of two of these bodies, but the body of Watson was finally recovered and buried by the side of his father at North Elba. Mrs. John Brown, who had gone to Harper's Ferry and was there awaiting the execution of her husband, received written permission from Governor Wise to take home not only the body of her husband, but also those of her two sons. She obtained her husband's body, but the excited state of public feeling precluded further efforts on her part, and she returned home. In the autumn of 1882 she made a trip east from her California home, and while in Chicago she received word that the body of her son Watson was in Indiana. She proceeded on her journey and when she arrived at the home of John Brown, Jr., at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, she requested John to go on after the body. I have his letter to his wife while on that mission and since it has never appeared in print, I give it almost entire:

MARTINSVILLE, INDIANA,
Sunday Evening, Sept. 10, 1882.

Dear Wife and All at Put-in-Bay:

I wrote you from Indianapolis Friday evening last. Hope you have my letter before this time. It seems a long time since I left home.

⁴ Dr. Stephen B. Weeks in an article on "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and Survival," published in the fifth volume of the *Papers* of the American Historical Association presents evidence to show that Leary was also a descendant of that colony of Englishmen left on Roanoke Island, N. C., in 1587, in one of Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to colonize the new world.

Am making slow, but on all accounts satisfactory progress. Came here by Saturday morning's train accompanied by a reporter from the office of the *Indianapolis Journal*. Found that Dr. Johnson, the man I most desired to see, had left town to be gone two or three days. His son immediately telegraphed him and received reply that he will be here to-morrow (Monday) evening. The reporter returned last evening expecting to be back again to-morrow morning. I have met with most cordial reception from every one here. In about an hour after I came here I went to the house of Dr. Johnson to view the body which had been brought from the doctor's office, some little distance from his house. A number of physicians and others, prominent citizens of the place, accompanied me. Of course as I was expecting to see the remains of either Oliver or Watson, it was only but natural for me to see in these remains much resemblance, and this I did. My first impressions will remain with me forever. It seemed to me to have, notwithstanding its ghastly appearance, a pleading expression as if to say "Come and take me." I could hardly resist the impulse to clasp it in my arms.

I found it in a long, narrow box. The cover, instead of board, was a white cotton cloth. This box stood on end and leaning against a wall of the room. As soon as I could choke down my feelings I began a careful survey. The muscles of the mouth had been stretched unnaturally, probably to expose the teeth as much as possible. Two or three of the upper front teeth are broken as if they had received a blow forcing them inwards towards the roof of the mouth. Several joints of the fingers and toes are missing. It is said they were cut off and carried away as relics by the Confederates when it was in their hands at Winchester, Va. The body has suffered a good deal of waste from the ravages of insects. The height corresponds well to that of either Watson or Oliver. The hole corresponding to the wound as reported at the time which Watson received, can be plainly seen. * * *

Yours ever,

JOHN BROWN, JR.

The following affidavit will explain the whole matter. This affidavit, together with the above letter, I have been able to copy through the courtesy of Mrs. Thompson of Pasadena, Cal., who has been mentioned before as the eldest daughter of John Brown. As far as I know, and I am pretty familiar with the literature bearing upon John Brown, this affidavit has never been made public before.

State of Indiana,
Morgan County.

Personally appeared before me, Jas. H. Jordan, a Notary Public in and for the County and State aforesaid, Dr. Jarvis J. Johnson, who being by me first duly sworn according to law, deposed as follows:

My name is Jarvis J. Johnson, my age is 54 years, I reside in Martinsville, Morgan Co., Indiana, my profession is that of a physician and surgeon, I have been engaged in the practice of medicine for over thirty-two years. I was the surgeon of the 27th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers in the war of 1861, and served in that capacity during the years of 1861 and 1862. In the spring of 1862 General Banks' Division moved up the valley of the Shenandoah and entered the city of Winchester, Va. My regiment was a part of the said division. After we had entered the city, I took possession of the Medical College situated therein. In the museum of the said college I found a large symmetrical and anatomical human body or frame. It had been well prepared for preservation and contained all the muscles, arteries and nerves. By permission of General Banks, I took charge of the specimen and removed it to the Academy Hospital in Winchester, which hospital was then under my control. After its removal to the said hospital a number of prominent citizens of Winchester called upon me at the hospital, and each and all declared that it was the remains of a son of John Brown. That the said son had been killed at Harper's Ferry, Va., in October, 1859, at the time of the insurrection. One of the professors of the said college also called upon me in person, and demanded that I return the specimen. He then gave me all the details of the manner in which the body had been prepared, and said that he did it himself. He told me that after young Brown was killed at Harper's Ferry, that he had the body sent to Winchester, and that upon consultation with the other professors of the college, it was decided to prepare the body of young Brown that it might be preserved in the museum of the college as a specimen, and as an object of interest and note. The professor strongly appealed to me in the name of my profession, and in the interest of the same, and as a friend of science to return to him the said body. He said that when the war was over, the college, which had been burned,⁵ would be rebuilt and that it should again be deposited therein. He cited the fact that the sons of John Brown had been killed while engaged with their father in the attempt to overthrow Virginia's cherished institution of slavery, and hence Virginia was entitled to the body as an object of warning and curiosity. In answer to the demand and appeals of the professor I said that the memory of John Brown and his sons, and their heroic battle at Harper's Ferry for the freedom of the slave, were held in too high esteem for me to leave the body upon the slave soil of Virginia, hence I should send it to the free soil of my own State (Indiana). I afterwards, in the summer of 1862, shipped the said body by express via Franklin, Ind., that point being the nearest express office to my own home, then at Morgantown, Morgan county, Ind. The said specimen has been in my possession, and under my control ever since, and I have no doubt whatever, but that it is the

⁵ The Richmond *Whig* for June 7, 1862, says of the burning of the medical college, at Winchester by the Federal soldiers: "It is said that it was openly avowed that this was done because it was ascertained that the body of one of John Brown's sons had been dissected in the college by the students there."

son of the heroic John Brown. I would have notified the mother and brothers of young Brown long ago that I had the body in my possession but for the reason that I was not aware of the fact that there was a brother living, and fears that the information to the mother might simply renew the great mental anguish which I felt assured she had endured about the sad results in years past. It was not until recently I saw in the papers that it was being contemplated to rear a monument to the memory of her husband, and that she knew nothing of the remains of her sons, that I determined to write to the *Chicago Tribune* and make public the information. I have never tried to conceal the fact, but have always talked freely in regard to the matter, and several years ago our local paper published an article in relation to the body being in my possession. I freely and gladly, without price or reward, surrender the said body to John Brown, Jr., in order that it may be interred in free soil, and glad am I that I have been the means of thus preserving it for that purpose.

JARVIS J. JOHNSON, M. D.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of September, 1882, and I hereby certify that the affiant, Jarvis J. Johnson, is a person of credit and respectability and in good standing in this community, and that the above statement is entitled to full faith and credit. Witness my hand and official seal.

JAS. H. JORDAN,
Notary Public.

When the battle was over and the five prisoners of the party had been taken captive to Charlestown, the dead were gathered from the streets and rivers into one gruesome pile, and the village authorities were at a loss what disposition to make of the bodies. Sepulture in one of the village cemeteries was, in view of the excited state of the public mind, out of the question, and it was finally determined to bury the bodies outside of the town in an unaccustomed spot in order that the place might be unknown or forgotten in a short time. The disposition of three of the bodies has already been related. The other seven were packed in two "store boxes," which were then carried across the Shenandoah bridge and half a mile up the river, where they were buried. The exact location of the graves seemed to have been lost, and all accounts said that the frequent rises of the river had long ago washed away these remains. I had frequently sought the spot of burial and to this end questioned many of the older citizens of Harper's Ferry, but never had my curiosity gratified. On one of my many ex-

cursions to the region, accompanied by Mr. L. A. Brandebury, of Washington, we again sought the place of burial of these raiders. Accidentally we stumbled across Mr. James Foreman, who had lived on the mountain side all his life, and his little house was very near the supposed site of the graves. On questioning him he said that he knew the place well, having witnessed the interments. He then showed us two sunken places in the ground which were within a few feet of each other, and stated that these were the graves we sought. He said that he had seen three of the bodies placed in one of the boxes and four in another. In order to settle this controversy, and with very little hope that we would find anything, we procured spades and Mr. Foreman and his son were soon busily at work. Some three feet below the surface we came upon the cover of the box which was partially decayed and was sunken in, but was still in a very fair state of preservation. We finally uncovered the whole top of the box and I raised the cover, to which the whole backbone of a man was adherent. This incident shows how closely the bodies had been packed in the box. The box was some six feet in length, four feet wide and three feet in depth. It was made of inch pine lumber and was remarkably well preserved considering the number of years that it had been buried, but the graves are quite close to the water's edge and the boxes are below the water line and thus are kept constantly wet. It is well known that wood under such circumstances will last for an indefinite time. The top of the box was more decayed than any other portion. This coffin contained the remains of four of the invaders. Portions of the clothing were still to be distinguished. A number of large blanket-shawls had been sent to the Kennedy farm as a present to the band from Philadelphia. It was the idea of the donor, so Mrs. Adams writes me, that these would be more convenient to carry than a coat and could be used both as coats or blankets as occasion required. She says that she did not see these blankets while at the farm, but that Oliver, her brother, told her about them. The

bodies were evidently buried in the blankets, for there were great masses of woolen tissue surrounding each one of the dead men. These blankets or shawls were worn by the men as overcoats when they started out on the raid, and many of the witnesses speak of them, and how the short Sharp's carbines were kept from the rain by withdrawal beneath these protectors. One of the skulls that I picked out from the ooze was all in pieces as if it had been shattered, and this may have been the skull of Newby, who, it will be remembered, was shot through the head and neck by a great spike. After becoming fully satisfied that we had the remains of the raiders before us, we replaced the cover of the box and refilled the grave. We brought from the river's brink two large flat stones which we placed as headstones to mark the spot. The other grave, in which three of the bodies were placed, is only a few feet from the one in question, and this we did not disturb.

When our discovery of these graves became known there were intimations thrown out that we had made some mistake and that the bodies of the raiders had not been found. To settle this controversy, I present the affidavit of the man who buried these bodies:

State of West Virginia,
County of Jefferson to wit,

This day personally appeared before me, Will O. Rau, Notary Public in and for the county aforesaid, James Mansfield, who being duly sworn deposeth and says that he and his brother-in-law, James Giddy, now dead, buried several of John Brown's men on the east bank of the Shenandoah river, some in store-boxes and a couple without coffin of any kind, and the graves opened recently by Dr. Thos. Featherstonhaugh and L. A. Brandebury were the identical graves in which they placed the bodies of the dead.

Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of April, 1899.

Will O. Rau, Notary Public.

These graves may be found by crossing the Shenandoah bridge, then by turning to the right and proceeding up stream for nearly half a mile, or until opposite the pulp mill, which occupies practically the site of the former Hall Rifle

Works; here close to the water's edge the little grave stones will be readily found.

From this point can be seen also in the middle of the river the large rock to which Kagi and his companions retreated when they were dislodged from the Rifle Works and upon which the body of Kagi lay after his death.⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN, PART II.

BY THOMAS FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

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* This title together with the others marked with an asterisk are from a volume catalogued in the former bibliography under the name Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, Boston, Thayer and Eldridge, 1860. This volume in addition to these titles, contains other matter pertaining to John Brown, such as letters, poems, etc.

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⁶Since the above article was written, on July 29, 1899, Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh, with Capt. E. P. Hall, of Washington, exhumed the remains of the seven raiders and they were transported to North Elba, New York, by Dr. O. G. Libby, where they have been reinterred by the side of their former leader, John Brown.—EDS.

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WISE, Barton H. The Life of Henry A. Wise, of Virginia. Macmillan Co., 1899, 8vo.

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In further elucidation of the titles as given above: Journal of House of Delegates of Virginia, and of the part taken by his grandfather, Governor Wise, the late Barton H. Wise writes to the Secretary under date of October 28, 1897:

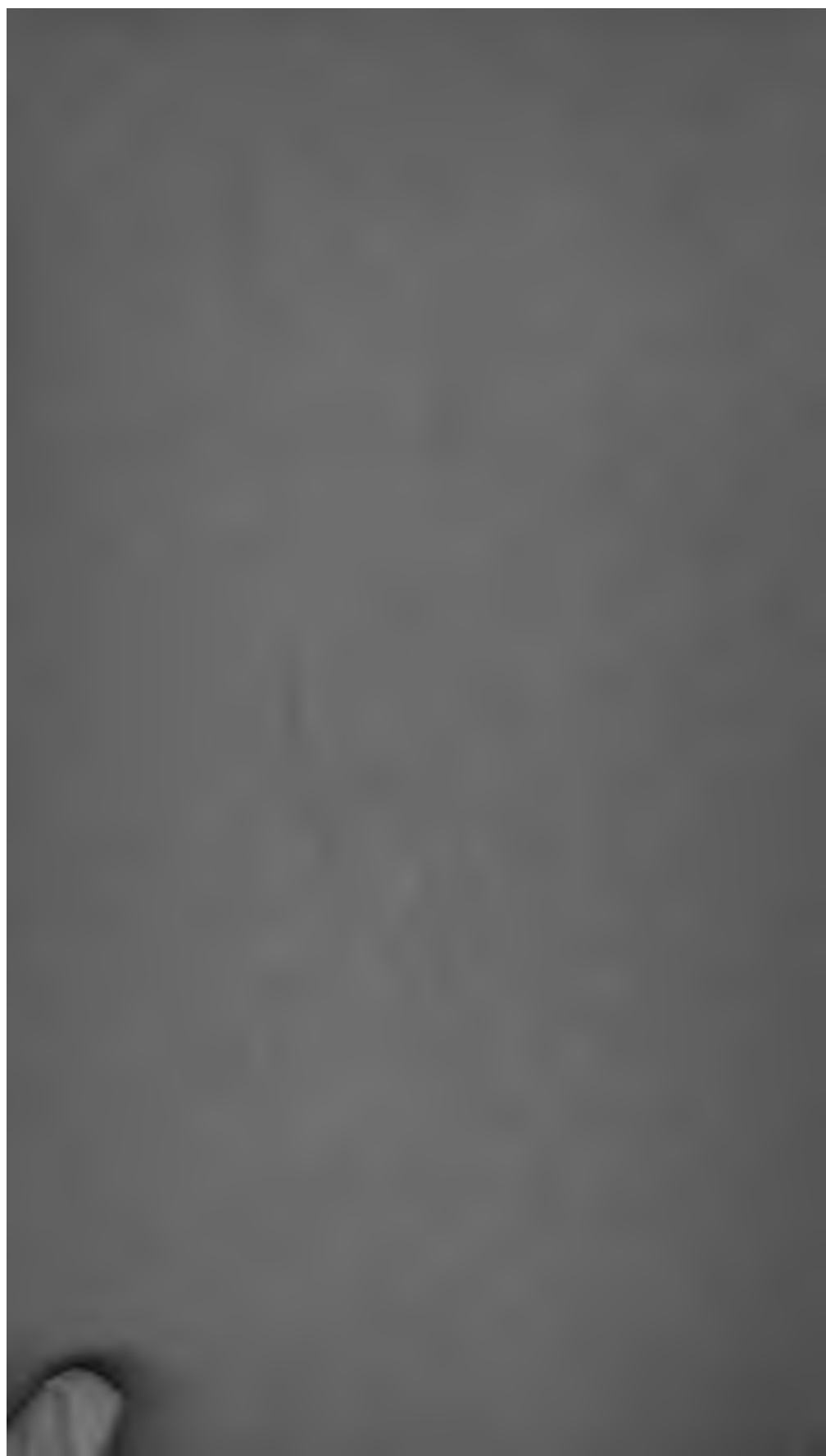
In volume XI of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, pp. 269-349, are to be found a large amount of Brown data copied from the papers found in his carpet bag at Harper's Ferry and "consisting of the Journal of the Constitutional Convention at Chatham, Canada West; Brown's Declaration of Independence; Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the U. S., printed; Kagi's draft for a Provisional Army; Correspondence and plans of Brown's Men; Letters from their friends and from persons furnishing means; Memoranda, Hints and Suggestions; Extracts from Letters, Diaries, and *Journals* etc." These were copied from the originals by order of the Executive Department of the State of Virginia, November 16, 1860. In this same volume of State Papers (XI) will be found letters from Governor Wise, Amos A. Lawrence and others relative to the Harper's Ferry insurrection.

In the Senate *Journal and Documents* of Virginia for the session of 1859-60, there is published the report of the joint committee of the Senate and House of Delegates, appointed to consider the Harper's Ferry affair. This report was written by Alexander H. H. Stuart, the chairman of the committee, and is a document of more than ordinary ability. In the House and Senate *Journals and Documents* for 1859-60 are to be found also the special message of Governor Henry A. Wise to the Legislature, on the subject of the John Brown Raid. This message was also printed in the *Richmond Examiner* for December 6, 1859, and in other Richmond papers.











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